556 [888] [178] Our brief investigations indicated that neither seniority by age nor seniority by genealogical position is invariably an attribute of the men who today exercise power among local agnates or have influence in a wider local group. This may indicate recent cultural change. These men very often achieve and maintain such a position as men who are personally active in a wide range of affairs[1] (delegation of responsibility by issuing orders is sometimes spoken of as characteristic of the European system of leadership). They will be vigorous gardeners,[2] organize feasts and participate in a wide range of traditional exchanges, at the same time building a reputation as a man who has acquired material wealth, e.g., livestock and - to a lesser extent now than formerly - traditional valuables.

555 Not the least of their assets may be a reputation as a practitioner of 'white' magic, or as a dangerous man who has assiduously developed the skills of a sorcerer. The roles of 'big men' with these attributes may not be directly related to their age or genealogical status in a descent group. There are often several such dominant figures in a village.

621 The diffuse pattern of authority evident in villages in the neighbourhood under discussion may be ascribed partly to the fact that the present nucleated settlements are the culmination of a series of what the people feel to have been enforced amalgamations [622] of independent kin groups. Even before this process began no source of political cohesion existed in the form of inherited positions of authority commanding the continuing allegiance of sizeable local groups of dependents.

625 The expansion of villages to embrace more kin groups was accompanied by a proliferation of independent minor leaders in a single local group, not by the consolidation of positions of power. A patrol report of 1948 also revealed that the large Isivita, Isoge and Avala 'native districts' had received so little attention from the District Office nearby that the organization of villages under village constables had been allowed to deteriorate 'almost to chaos' since the Japanese occupation. 'One constable was found looking after eight scattered hamlets.'[3] Moreover in some cases migration seemed to have been so extensive that the areas of a number of constables overlapped.

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[515] [1] Cf. kiti ligari (p.30).

[2] Polygamists were able to maintain larger garden areas than other men. On the incidence of polygamy in the past see Williams 1930:130.

[3] Note that in 1924-5 among the Aiga 4 of the 10 village constables were each in charge of 6 or more villages.

434 was in recognition of kinship obligations including bride price
[513] and gifts while 49 per cent of income was derived from these
[431] sources.
[525]

Gambling does not appear to be common within the village but intervillage visits are not infrequently arranged for this purpose. Few men in the sample claimed any significant winnings or losses for the year but during our stay some men, in one evening's gambling, lost $22 to members of another village who had already won $10 from them in 1962.

454 Nine of the 12 householders were holding personal savings at the time of our survey; in 3 instances where men had formerly been wage-earners for some time they had opened Savings Bank accounts which they retained.

A son's wife living with 1 householder had received some money from her kinsmen and some from her husband who was absent in employment. The money had been banked but was not recorded in our survey.

Apart from $60 in savings certificates maturing in 1966 which are contributions to joint accounts (see Appendix B), the ratio of current savings ($10 per household) to annual income is 1:2.7. Savings had decreased by 40 per cent during 1962 but income also seems to have been considerably higher in the previous year.

In a sample of 13 men from a nearby area in 1951 Belshaw (1951:12) found that only slight withdrawals had been made from pass books issued about 2 years earlier under the War Damage Compensation scheme; almost no deposits had been made. The average account had a balance of £4 with a range from £1.17s. to £8.1s. The same people claimed to hold other cash in hand ranging
[13] from nil to £39 with an average of just under £10. A small part of this may have been cash payments made under the scheme. Refugees from the Mt Lamington eruption received other payments later from a relief fund. We could obtain no reliable information to account for any money received by members of our sample on either occasion.

436 The evidence is slight but a comparison of the 2 small samples suggests the possibility that with an increase over 10 years in the range of sources of income and in consumer demand, money is now circulating more freely in the area.

[301] Shell and bone ornaments (hambo) and head-dresses (di) - made
[23] from feathers of the bird-of-paradise, mountain parrots, hornbills
[321] and cassowaries - known collectively as di hambo, are held by the
[555] people of Sivepe as a category of wealth, items in ceremonial presentations and as objects of display. In traditional Orokaiva society these are prestige tokens but seem never to have served as

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 80]

A. [See Category 454, pp. 107-108--Analyst]

436 a standard of value. However, to some extent money seems to have
[555] taken over some of the functions of traditional valuables and in
some situations one is exchanged for the other. In the past it
[301] was recognized that skill and initiative in hunting and trading
[237] were necessary to acquire di hambo but today, with safer communi-
[321] cations and better hunting equipment, they are more easily obtained.
People are willing to buy some of the more valuable items or some
[439] cheaper items of European manufacture which can be adapted to
serve as a novel decoration.

Although they constituted the greater part of the goods changing
[428] hands on traditional ceremonial occasions, di hambo are evidently
not now circulating rapidly. A little less than half of these
valuables held by members of the sample had been inherited and
nearly a quarter had been acquired by the owner by hunting or
collecting.

A complete adjustment between the roles of money and of non-
monetary valuables has not yet been made. They circulate in the
same exchanges and both are considered essential; it may now be
[583] accepted practice that each should be contributed by or distributed
amongst different categories of kin on these occasions.[1] But the
opinion was widely expressed that as people are increasingly
demanding cash as a large part of bride price payments, the
intrinsic value of these exchanges was correspondingly less.

435 Although money and traditional valuables are not freely inter-
changeable, we collected details of the prices paid for any items
of di hambo which had been purchased by the sample,[2] and by using
these in conjunction with the unitary scale of value on which
informants could readily place all items, we assessed the possible
cash equivalent of non-monetary valuables acquired by the 12 house-
holds from various sources. This is set out in Table 8.

Table 8

Cash value and acquisition of hambo and di
($)

	Inherited	Purchased	Bride price or other exchange	Made or bought	Total
Hambo	48.40	9.30	17.70	16.60	92.00
Di	17.60	4.50	6.50	15.40	44.00
Total	66.00	13.80	24.20	32.00	136.00

1 See Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:52.

2 These prices were very nearly the same as those recorded at Inonda (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963: Appendix B).

434 For example, during period II the sample's income ranged from $1 in one week to almost $50 in another. Since the turnover of cash is rapid and little capital formation takes place, the pattern of expenditure closely parallels income, and exceeds it in the latter part of period III when the substantial demand for storebought foods for ceremonial activities is met primarily with savings accumulated earlier in the year. These major fluctuations in the acquisition of cash demonstrate the danger of villagers placing any great dependence on it at this stage of commercialisation of the economy.

The exchange patterns of households

437 512 Both the volume and variety of transactions vary considerably from one household to another, and can be related to specific differences in the resource base of each (see Table 10:9). Thus, there is a distinct movement of labour services within the cash sector from non-cash cropping to cash cropping households, of cash crops from the latter, of the produce of hunting from householders with direct access to shotguns (households 3 and 15), of cash to cash cropping households, and of storebought goods to those households with the highest incomes.

Cash croppers exhibit a much higher volume of transactions than non-cash croppers in all categories apart from subsistence labour services. As suggested by the figures for subsistence produce, this applies equally to transactions in the gift and in the monetary exchange system. As in activity patterns so with exchange: cash croppers evidence a high level of participation in the traditional village economy. That is, cash croppers are industrious in work and generous in distribution, two qualities which generate respect and status both traditionally and in contemporary Orokaiva society. [555]

The lower rate of disposal of subsistence labour services by cash croppers may be indicative of the greater premium they place on time and a preference for exchanging goods more abundantly available to them but, apart from in the processing of cash crops, there is little evidence that they exploit the system by drawing on unutilised labour from other households. However, it is worth noting that household 15, whose head is the most active male in the sample, does record a high incidence of such exchanges of labour, in particular of acquisitions.

Not only do particular households play an important part in regulating the flow of specific categories of goods, especially the scarce ones of cash, pigs and game, but there are broad variations between households in their general involvement in the exchange system. The bulk of domestic pig is handled by four households (1, 2, 13 and 14), with only very small amounts being distributed or redistributed to others. Some of the households headed by older people (6, 10 and 11) or which are only recently

435 436 household head. Only one man looked after his own hambo and di, and he was an elderly man who spent much of his time at home. The last household had no valuables. It consisted of a young couple and the man had given what few articles he possessed for his wife's bride-price. He has a job at present and is meeting his traditional commitments with cash.

426 425 The processes by which the valuables were acquired are shown in the following table (in equivalent cash values):

Table 6

Acquisition of hambo and di

	Inheritance	Cash purchase	Barter	Bride-price	Made or caught	Other exchanges	Total
Hambo	9. 6.0	18.1.0	10.16.0	6.10.0	2.19.0	6.17 0	54. 9.0
Di	2.17.0	1.0.0	3. 0.0	3.14.0	10.11.0	2. 5.0	23. 7.0
Total	12. 3.0	19.1.0	13.16.0	10. 4.0	13.10.0	9. 2 0	77.16.0

(These figures are slightly different from those listed in Table 5 above as these exclude details for one household which was in mourning, and include details of articles previously held by another household but since stolen.)

556 555 435 436 In traditional Orokaiva society the possession of hambo and di demonstrated a man's prowess or that of his forebears. Wild pigs' tusks form the main components of most hambo and the spearing of wild pigs was a hazardous task requiring skill and courage. The next most important components were sea-shells, and they could only be obtained by contact with coastal folk (or from others who had contact with coastal folk). Such inter-tribal contacts appear to have been infrequent and risky. Feathers were obtained by snaring birds, a time-consuming process involving patient watching of intricately constructed traps and snares. The introduction of shotguns has facilitated the hunting of pigs and birds. There is now less skill and less time involved than previously. The trophies are consequently more abundant and of lower value. Likewise trading with the coastal people no longer requires courage or detailed

preliminary planning. One may walk to the coast at any time and obtain sea-shells by purchase or barter. Moreover, many people now place a higher value on imported objects, both ornamental and utilitarian.

Nevertheless, hambo and di still have a value. A man derives prestige from being "rich in hambo", a wedding is not complete without the exchange of valuables, and a man is not properly dressed for important festivals unless he is adorned with hambo and di. Moreover, one is sometimes forced to acquire hambo, as in the case of a relatively wealthy man in a neighbouring village who cannot decline the requests of relatives (in Inonda and elsewhere) to give them cash for hambo to enable them to pay their tax.

In a bride-price exchange which we observed a total of £41.0.0 was given in cash, plus £13.19.0 worth of hambo and di. It is significant to note that it was the closest relatives who gave cash (or cash and valuables) and generally the more distant ones (or close ones who had no access to cash) who gave traditional valuables. Likewise the most important of the recipients kept the cash, and the traditional valuables were distributed to the more distant kin.(1) At a birthday feast which we observed only cash was contributed.(2) It is apparent that money is now of greater importance than hambo and di even in local ceremonial activity.

The total value of traditional valuables held in the village is less than that of cash savings (see p. 54). Savings in cash amount to 24% of annual cash income in the village and the remainder of the income is used for current expenses. Cash circulates much more rapidly than valuables and is used for a greater variety of transactions. It is likely that the relative importance of cash will continue to increase.

Income and expenditure

Details of cash income and expenditure were collected in respect of the first eight months of the year and are

(1) For a fuller report on this wedding see Hogbin, 1963.

(2) See Crocombe, 1963.